

Message Text

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R 121115Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7265
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 CAPE TOWN 951

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: INTERNAL ATTITUDES AND ACTIVITIES

1. SUMMARY: IN THE WAKE OF SOUTH AFRICAN ACCEPTANCE OF
THE WESTERN PROPOSALS AND THE SUBSEQUENT RAID INTO ANGOLA,
MOST INTERNAL NAMIBIAN PARTIES ARE UNCERTAIN AS TO THEIR
NEXT STEP, AND ARE WAITING TO SEE WHAT SWAPO, AND PARTICULARLY
THE WESTERN POWERS, WILL DO NOW. INTERNAL OPINION ON
THE RAID IS DIVIDED, WITH CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS SUPPORTING
THE ACTION, AND OTHER GROUPS SHOWING VARYING DEGREES OF
OPPOSITION OR BELIEVING THAT THE RAID WAS CARRIED OUT
WITH THE EXPRESS PURPOSE OF ASSURING SWAPO REJECTION OF
THE PLAN.

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2. INTERNAL GROUPS CONTINUE TO MANEUVER POLITICALLY,
WITH THE NNF APPARENTLY GAINING SOME GROUND AS A
RESULT OF ITS RECENT REORGANIZATION. ALTHOUGH THE
DTA CONTINUES TO CAMPAIGN ACTIVELY, FOLLOWING THE
DEATH OF KAPUUNO, IT HAS BEEN BESET WITH LEADERSHIP
DIFFICULTIES AND INTERNAL SQUABBLING. SWAPO'S INTERNAL

ACTIVITY APPEARS TO HAVE COME TO A TEMPORARY STANDSTILL AS A RESULT OF WIDESPREAD ARRESTS. END SUMMARY.

3. DURING A MAY 7-10 VISIT TO WINDHOEK, EMBOFF FOUND INTERNAL GROUPS CONFUSED AND UNCERTAIN AS TO THEIR NEXT STEPS. FOLLOWING SOUTH AFRICAN ACCEPTANCE OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, MOST BELIEVE THAT THE BALL IS BACK IN THE WESTERN COURT. IN THE WAKE OF THE ANGOLAN RAID, HOWEVER, THERE IS AGAIN A GROWING FEELING THAT SWAPO WILL NOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS. GROUPS SUCH AS THE DEMOCRATIC TURNHALLE ALLIANCE (DTA) AND THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT (NNF) HOPE THAT THE WEST WILL STAND BY ITS PLAN REGARDLESS OF SWAPO'S DECISION. SEVERAL NNF LEADERS, FOR EXAMPLE, SAID THAT IF SWAPO REJECTS THE PLAN THE WEST SHOULD IN ANY CASE SEND OBSERVERS AND EVEN PEACE-KEEPING TROOPS, AND PRESS THE SAG TO RELEASE PRISONERS, REMOVE RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION, AND CONDUCT A TRULY FREE ELECTION. ANYTHING ELSE, THEY INSISTED, WOULD MEAN ACQUIESCING IN A SWAPO REJECTION OF THE PLAN.

4. AKTUR AND MANY DTA LEADERS WOULD BE PLEASED TO SEE A SWAPO REJECTION OF THE PROPOSALS AND AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WITH RETENTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS. (EMBOFF WAS UNABLE TO SPEAK TO MUDGE AS HE WAS OUT OF TOWN.) THEY DO NOT APPEAR TO BE PRESSING
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HARD AT THIS POINT FOR AN EARLY END TO NEGOTIATIONS OR AN EARLY ELECTION DATE, ALTHOUGH SUCH PRESSURE MAY SOON DEVELOP.

5. THE NNF IS UNCERTAIN AS TO ITS STANCE IN THE EVENT OF AN INTERNAL SOLUTION, BUT IF SWAPO CONTINUES TO AVOID ACCEPTANCE, IT PROBABLY WOULD TAKE PART. NNF LEADERS REALIZE THAT TO A LARGE EXTENT THEY HOLD THE KEY TO WHETHER AN INTERNAL SOLUTION WOULD APPEAR AT ALL CREDIBLE. IN RETURN FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION THEY WOULD DEMAND A FAIR ELECTORAL PROCESS, AN END TO INTIMIDATION OF NNF SUPPORTERS, AND NEUTRALITY OF THE SABC. WHILE PRESENTLY FIRM IN THESE DEMANDS, THE NNF COULD POSSIBLY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE WITHOUT THEIR CONDITIONS BEING FULLY MET. THE NNF LEADERSHIP IS NOT INCLINED TO BOW OUT AND LET DTA FORM A GOVERNMENT UNOPPOSED UNLESS CONDITIONS FOR ELECTIONS APPEAR BLATANTLY BIASED.

6. PREDICTABLY, MOST WHITE NAMIBIANS AND DTA FOLLOWERS SUPPORT THE SOUTH AFRICAN RAID INTO ANGOLA. DTA LEADERS INSIST THAT THE ANGOLAN OPERATION WAS NO DIFFERENT FROM REPEATED SWAPO ATTACKS ON NAMIBIA. THEY POINT OUT THAT

THEIR NAMES ARE ON CAPTURED SWAPO "DEATH LISTS," AND IN VIEW OF THAT, FAVOR THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE ACTION AGAINST SWAPO UNTIL IT COMMITS ITSELF TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. THE NNF ISSUED AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT THAT ASSERTED SWAPO MUST EXPECT REPRISALS FOR ITS ACTIONS AND THAT A LIMITED OPERATION COULD BE JUSTIFIED. BUT A MASSIVE INVASION IN ANGOLA, THE STATEMENT SAID, IS NOT THE ANSWER AND "WILL CREATE MORE PROBLEMS THAN IT WOULD SOLVE." SUSPICION EXISTS IN SOME QUARTERS, PARTICULARLY AMONG CHURCH LEADERS, INTERNAL SWAPO, AND IN WIND-HOEK PRESS CIRCLES, THAT THE ANGOLAN OPERATION WAS A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT BY THE SAG TO INSURE THAT SWAPO WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS. MOST GROUPS, INCLUDING THOSE WHO SUPPORT THE RAID,

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CONCEDE THAT IT HAS GIVEN SWAPO GROUNDS FOR DELAYING ACCEPTANCE; MOST OBSERVERS, THEREFORE, DO NOT ANTICIPATE AN EARLY AGREEMENT. SWAPO LEADER DAN TJONGARERO SAID PRIVATELY THAT HE HAD VISITED ONE OF THE CAMPS ATTACKED, AND ASSERTED THAT IT WAS A REFUGEE CAMPT AND NOT, AS THE SAG HAS INSISTED, A MILITARY TRAINING CAMP.

INTERNAL POLITICAL GROUPS - DTA

7. SINCE THE DEATH OF CHIEF KAPUUO, ITS ONLY BLACK LEADER OF NATIONAL STATURE, THE DTA HAS BEEN BESET BY INTERNAL DISSENSION AND A DEARTH OF ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVE LEADERSHIP. KAPUUO'S SUCCESSOR AS DTA PRESIDENT IS TO BE SELECTED ON MAY 29, AND IT IS STILL HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL

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UNCERTAIN WHO WILL GET THE JOB. THE DTA IS THE VICTIM OF ITS OWN POLICY OF ETHNICITY. MOST OBSERVERS AGREE THAT THE TWO MOST QUALIFIED MEN TO STEP INTO KAPUUO'S POST ARE JARIERTUNDU KOZINGUIZI AND PETER KALANGULA. THE FORMER IS EASILY THE MOST URBANE AND ARTICULATE OF BLACK DTA LEADERS, AND IS FAVORED BY DIRK MUDGE, WHILE KALANGULA, AN OVAMBO ANGLICAN MINISTER, RUNS A CLOSE SECOND. NEITHER OF THEM, HOWEVER IS THE LEADER OF AN ETHNIC GROUP, AND THEIR SELECTION WOULD STRETCH BOTH TURNHALLE POLICY AND LOYALTY. THE LOGICAL SUCCESSOR TO KAPUUO, IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE ETHNIC LEADERSHIP BALANCE IN DTA (HERERO PRESIDENT, OVAMBO VICE PRESIDENT, WHITE CHAIRMAN) WOULD BE THE NEW HERERO LEADER. JOHANNES KARUAIHE (CAPE TOWN 762) A KATUTURA BUSINESSMAN OF LIMITED CHARISMA HAS BEEN TEMPORARILY APPOINTED DTA HERERO LEADER. KARUAIHA SAID PRIVATELY THAT HE HOPES TO MAINTAIN THIS POSITION. HE ADDED THAT KOZINGUIZI IS ADMIRER BY DIRK MUDGE, BUT NOT BY THE HERERO PEOPLE BECAUSE OF HIS PAST ASSOCIATION WITH SWANU. ANOTHER DTA LEADER, ANDREW KLOPPERS, SAID KARUAIHE STANDS NO CHANCE OF ELECTION AS DTA LEADER AND MADE CLEAR HIS PREFERENCE FOR KOZINGUIZI. MUDGE AND OTHER COULD PRESUMABLY ENGINEER KOZINGUIZI'S ELECTION, BUT IT MIGHT BE AT THE COST OF A SIGNIFICANT DEGREE OF HERERO SUPPORT.

8. AT THE SAME TIME THE DTA IS SUFFERING DISORIENTATION AS MANY OF ITS NON-WHITE LEADERS INCH AWAY FROM THE ORIGINAL TURNHALLE CONSTITUTION AND EXPRESS THEIR PREFERENCE FOR AN UNDEFINED SYSTEM IN WHICH LESS STRESS WILL BE PLACED ON ETHNICITY AND THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WILL ASSUME GREATER POWERS. THE NNF, FOR ONE, IS QUITE PLEASED WITH THE "FUZZY" NEW DTA PLATFORM WHICH THE NNF BELIEVES WILL ALLOW IT TO OVERTAKE DTA
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AT THE POLLS. NNF BELIEVES THAT DIRK MUDGE IS PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE IN THIS REGARD SINCE HE EMPHASIZES ETHNICITY AND A "WHITE VETO" TO HIS

WHITE AUDIENCES, BUT STRESSES COMPLETELY DIFFERENT POINTS TO BLACK AUDIENCES. SOME BLACK DTA LEADERS ARE ACCUSING EACH OTHER OF SECRETLY TALKING TO AKTUR. KARUAIHE SUGGESTED PRIVATELY THAT KLOPPERS MIGHT BE BROUGHT OVER TO AKTUR, WHILE OTHERS ALLEGED THAT KARUAIHE HIMSELF WAS VULNERABLE TO AKTUR OFFERS. WHILE IT SEEMS UNLIKELY FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE THAT ANY BLACK DTA LEADERS WOULD ACTUALLY JOIN AKTUR, THE ACCUSATIONS ARE AN INDICATION OF INCREASING DISSENSION WITHIN THE DTA.

THE NNF

9. THE FEDERAL PARTY'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE NNF HAS GIVEN THE FRONT NEW ORGANIZATION AND DIRECTION, WHICH HAS TRANSFORMED IT FOR THE FIRST TIME INTO A COHESIVE POLITICAL MOVEMENT WITH WELL-SPELLED-OUT POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES. THE NNF HAS SEIZED THE MIDDLE GROUND BETWEEN DTA AND SWAPO, ADVOCATING A NON-ETHNIC DEMOCRACY AND A MIXED ECONOMY. AS A RESULT, MANY NAMIBIANS ARE TAKING A SECOND LOOK AT THE NNF, AND IT IS GAINING SUPPORT AMONG IMPORTANT GROUPS SUCH AS CHURCH LEADERS AND BUSINESSMEN, AS WELL AS FROM THE POPULATION IN GENERAL. THE LARGEST PROBLEM STILL FACING NNF IS ITS SHORTAGE OF FUNDS, BUT PARTY OFFICIALS ARE HOPEFUL THAT CONTRIBUTIONS WILL SOON INCREASE. SECRETARY GENERAL BRYAN O'LINN SAID THAT HE AND SEVERAL OTHER NNF OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN INVITED BY UNNAMED SOURCES TO VISIT GERMANY IN LATE MAY, WHERE THEY WILL ATTEMPT TO RAISE FUNDS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 CAPE TOWN 951

10. LEADERS OF SWANU, THE LARGEST GOUP IN THE NNF, ALLEGE THAT THEIR FOLLOWERS ARE SUFFERING SERIOUS INTIMIDATION AT THE HANDS OF THE NATIONAL UNITY DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION (NUDO), THE HERERO-DOMINATED POLITICAL PARTY FORMED BY CLEMENS KAPUUNO. SOME CHURCH LEADERS AND JOURNALISTS IN WINDHOEK CREDIT SWANU CLAIMS THAT ITS SUPPORTERS ARE BEATEN, THEIR HOUSES BURNED, AND THEIR CHILDREN EXPELLED FROM SCHOOLS IN THE HERERO RESERVES. SWANU REPORTEDLY COMPLAINED TO THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL, BUT HE ALLEGEDLY TOLD THE PARTY "THAT IS NOT THE KIND OF INTIMIDATION I AM TRYING TO PREVENT." SWANU IS NEVERTHELESS CONTINUING ITS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. THREE EXILED OVERSEAS REPRESENTATIVES, INCLUDING DAVID KASUME FROM NEW YORK, ARE BACK IN WINDHOEK FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OVER A DECADE. SWANU HAS AGREED TO CONFIDENTIAL

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TRANSFORM ALL ITS OVERSEAS OFFICES INTO NNF OFFICES, THUS GIVING NNF AN OVERSEAS ORGANIZATION.

11. NNF IS HOPEFUL THAT IT CAN WIN THE SUPPORT OF LARGE NUMBERS OF SWAPO DISSIDENTS, INCLUDING ANDREAS SHIPANGA. THE NNF REPRESENTATIVE IN THE NETHERLANDS, SIEGFRIED TJIJOROKISA, CLAIMED PRIVATELY IN WINDHOEK THAT NNF HAD ALREADY BEEN IN TOUCH WITH SHIPANGA AND IS CONFIDENT OF HIS SUPPORT. OTHER NNF LEADERS SAID THAT "HUNDREDS" OF SWAPO DISSIDENTS IN EUROPE, PARTICULARLY SWEDEN, AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES SUCH AS KENYA, ARE LIKELY TO JOIN NNF WITHIN THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS, EITHER AS INDIVIDUALS OR AS A NEW PARTY. SOME NNF LEADERS SPECULATE THAT THIS WILL TRANSFORM NAMIBIAN POLITICS BY GIVING A NON-SWAPO GROUP A SOLID FOOTHOLD IN OVAMBO FOR THE FIRST TIME.

SWAPO

12. THE DEPARTURE ABROAD OVER THE LAST SEVERAL WEEKS OF A NUMBER OF TOP SWAPO LEADERS, AND THE DETENTIONS OF MANY MORE (SAID BY SWAPO SECRETARY FOR LEGAL AFFAIRS, LUCIA HAMUTENYA, TO NUMBER OVER 40, INCLUDING 15 UNDER A.G. 26) HAS LEFT INTERNAL SWAPO IN DISARRAY. IT HAS CEASED TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY AND FOR SOME WEEKS HAS NOT HELD PUBLIC MEETINGS. THE RETURN OF DANIEL TJONGARERO IS UNLIKELY TO CHANGE

MATTERS SIGNIFICANTLY, SINCE HE INTENDS TO LIE LOW,
AT LEAST TEMPORARILY (CAPE TOWN 944).
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